• XLTH CONGRESS-2D SESSION.

Contigued from First Page. to act under the plain authority of the Constitution, and it was not therefore necessary for the gentlemen on the ether side to warn Congress to beware, for it was not proposing to do anything outside the provisions of the Constitution. He did not underestimate the importance of the occasion, but he did not apprehend that the people of the country would be at all convulsed by the movement, for they knew that Congress had the authority, and that there was a necessity for the exercise of that nuthormy. No question of law was involved in the matter at all. The President had openly and plainty violated the law, thrown down the gauntlet, and dured Congress to the issue, and Congress must accept the challenge, and must meet the

Mr. DRIGGS (Rep., Mich.) said that if the whole Domo-oratic party, and every other party, were clamering at the doors of Congress, and seeking vengeance against every man who supported the impeachment resolution, be trusted that not a member would fail to vote for it on conviction and without regard to any threats.

Mr. WASHBURNE (Rep., Ill.) would vote for the resolution before the House. Acting with a majority of the Republican members of the House, he had not hitherto favored impeachment; not because he did not believe the President morally guilty of impeachable offenses, not be-cause he did not execuate Mr. Johnson's administration, but because he felt that in the cause as heretofore precented there might be a doubt of his conviction. Rather than branch out on a doubtful experiment, he had been disposed to hush Impeachment, in the hope that the President, warned of the power of the House, and in debted to it for its forbearance, would so conduct himself as to avoid the necessity of resorting to the extreme remedy provided by the Constitution. But all such hopes had been disappointed. Every act of forbearance had been but a fresh invitation to further and more flagrant aggressions, until at last the acting President had flung himself against the very bulwarks of the Constitution, defying the laws, and overriding the coordinate branch of the Government. The time had now arrived when the people's representatives could no longer dday the vindication of the Constitution. To him the pathway of duty was plain. He scorned the threats which had been made on this floor. He feared no appeal to the people, but courted such an appeal. Gentlemen had not read history if they had not learned that in all contests between an Executive and the Commons the representatives of the people had triumphed in the end. That great party which with patriotism, courage, fidelity, and heroism had carried the country in triumph and glory through the war, would not now fail in its great mission. That party which overcame the undivided and com, pacted strength of all the Rebels in arms, sustained and supported by the sympathy of two-fifths of all the voters in the States not in open rebellion would not now be overcome by a band of mercenary camp follewers of a corrupt and treasonable Administration. Mr. Johnson's longer continuance in office was a perpetual and enduring menace against the peace and prosperity of the country. The whole official career of the President had been marked by a wicked disregard of all the obligations of public duty, and by a degree of perfidy, treachery, and turpitude unheard of in the history of the rulers of a free people. As mendacions as he was malignant, he had used his official position to harl down and destroy the bravest, the noblest, the best in the land. His administration had been a constant and prolonged warfare against all the material interests of the country. It had prostrated business, it had oppressed labor, destroyed States impaired the public credit, and sapped the public morals. surrounded by red-handed Rebels, advised and counseled by the worst men that ever crawled like filthy reptiles at the footstool of power, he has used all the vast authority of the Government to prevent a reunion of the States, the restoration of the barmony, peace, and happiness of the country. loyal men in the Rebel States have been brought to a condition under his administration from the contemplation of which all men recoil with horror. Murder, rapine, in cendiarism, robbery, and all the crimes stalk through the whole land, and every day he remains in office adds to the long list of victims of Rebel vengeance, cruelty, and hate. With such a President, nearly all the departments of the Government had become demoralized and corrupt to an extent which could find no parallel in the history of any country in any age. The Attorney-General, not satisfied with being the medium through which 20 more mati-robbers, counterfeiters, and public plunder-ers have been pardoned and turned loose again upon the country, has, with ostentatious and boastful audacity, proclaimed that he will not vindicate the laws of Congress. Look at the Navy Department, with its profligacy. its extravagance, robberies, and persecutions of the honest and best naval officers of the country! The administration of the Treasury Department is characterized by the most appalling frauds, with countless millions of revenue stolen to go into the pockets of thieves, partisans, and plunderers, or to make up a vast political fund to demoralize and corrupt the people. The Interior Department, with the land jobbing and Indian contracts, and corrupt extensions of patents: the Post-Office Department, arraigned before the House by a Committee of the House; and the State Department arreplace of the easth for its fallers to vindicate the rights of the nation and of the citizens of the nation; confronted as we are this day this state of things so threatening to the national existence, and so destructive of all that is held dear-where is the patrictic man of any political organization who does not call upon Congress to strictly do its whole duty and purge this capitol of the crimes which now defile the nation.

apon Congress to strictly do its whole duty and purge this capitol of the crimes which now deflicthe nation.

During the delivery of Mr. Washburne's speech the hour of 12 o'clock arrived, and the session of Saturday terminated, and then commenced

MONDAT'S REGULAR SESSION.

Mr. WOODWARD (Denn., Penn.) obtained the floor, refusing to yield a few minutes' time to Mr. Washburne to conclude his remarks because of the slanders which had been uttered by him against the President. He addressed the House against the impeachment resolution. He argued that the resolution of impeachment was a mistake, and that any impeachment of the President on the notion that Secretary Stanton was within the protection of the Tenure-of-Office bill was what Fouche, the Chief of the old French police, would have called worse than a crime—a blunder. Whatever executive power the Federal Government possessed was vested in the President, who was the sole trustee of the people. In the matter of appointment to office and the treaty-making functions, a check was imposed upon the President; but even in those instances the power exercised was the Fresident's. The concurrence of the Senate was only a regulation for the exercise of the power. It was a mere advisory discretion—not an executive power. If Congress meddled with it, Congress became a trespassed, and its set an impertinent nullity, and the President was not to be impeached for disregarding it. He quoted extracts from the debate in the 1st Congress upon the Executive Departments, and argued that that debate extitled this question absolutely, and demonstrated the native unconstitutionality of the act of March 2-2-187. He also argued that, by the very terms of that act itself, Mr. Syanton did not come within its scope. He quoted Senator Sherman and Messrs. Spaiding and Bingham as taking the same view of the law, Mr. Johnson was a man of the Republican party's own choosing, and he verily believed that the President was trying to restore the Union, to pacificate the country, and to administer At the risk of demunciation he (Mr. Woodward demonstrate right of the Senate to try an impeachingent. The House was not composed, as the Constitution required, of members "chosen by the people of the several State." Nor was the Senate composed of "two Senators from each State." In conclusion he said: Mr. Speaker, so sure am I that the American people will respect this objection, were the President's councilor I would advise him, if you prefer articles of impeachment, to demur both to your juradiction and to that of the Senate, and

to issue a proclamation that while he held himself im-

peachable for misdemeaners in office before the constitu-

in trust for the people to the irregular, unconstitutional,

fragmentary bodies who propose to strip him of it. Such

a proclamation, with the army and navy in hand to sus-

main it, would meet a popular response that would make

an end of impeachment and the impeachers. Mr. WILSON (Rep., Iowa) next obtained the floor, and addressed the House is support of the impeachment resolution. He said: Mr. Speaker, the public peace is again disturbed by the President of the United States; he denies in the control of the same is supported the suppose which it so much needed; he was not the purpose which it so much needed; he will not obey the law, and by that law he must be judged, the part of the suppose which it so much needed; he will not obey the law, and by that law he must be judged in the part of the suppose which it so much needed; he was not seen or right for the assument of the constitution in part of the suppose which it so much needed; he was not seen or right for the assument of the constitution in the part of the suppose which it so much needed; he was not seen or right for the assument of the constitution in the suppose which it so much in the terms of the Constitution is an an interior of the sentent and declared the belief that the assumed volontary of the sentent and declared the belief that the assumed volontary of the sentent and declared the belief that the assumed volontary of the sentent and declared the belief that the assumed volontary of the sentent and declared the belief that the assumed volontary of the sentent and declared the belief that the assumed volontary of the sentent and declared the belief that the assumed volontary of the sentent and declared the belief that the assumed volontary of the sentent and declared the belief that the assumed volontary of the sentent and declared the volontary of the sentent and the the part of the sentent and the part of the summer of the sentent and the part of the sentent and the part of the summer of the sentent and the part of the summer of the summer of the sentent and the part of the summer of the sentent and the part of the summer of t

statute. If we permit this to pose unchallenged by that high power with which the Constitution has clothed us, he man can measure the future troubles of this Republic. For one, I am not willing to wait for an ascertainment of the unknown quantities of future Presidential crimes and misdomeanors. We have one before us, the elements and its quantities ascertained, and I am in favor of wiping it from the executive blackboard by an impeachment of the criminal who placed it there. Its presence s a source of regret to me, and it must be of mortification to the people of this Republie; but I will face it as they vill meet it, by asserting the insubordination of th President to the law of the land. He is not a maker of the law, nor a judge thereof, and fit is enough for him to know that the Constitution, which he is sworn to preserve, protect, and to defend says that he shall take care that the laws shall be faithfully executed. What laws? Those which are passed in pursuance of the terms of that Constitution which he is sworn to preserve, protect, and defend; and how are these laws to passed! By the two Houses of Congress with the approval of the President, or in such case as he does not approve he shall return the bill with his objections to the House in which it originated, and that House shall enter the objections at large upon their journal, and proceed to reconsider it, and, if after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be considered, and, if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become law. What kind of a law! One which the President shall take care to see faithfully executed. The Constitution does not make him a judge of the law, but an executive thereof, and he is bound to execute that which the law-making power decrees to be the law of the land. Whatever may be his opinion of the law, as a mere individual member of the national family, he is bound to be ruled by that higher duty which the Constitution imposes on him as an officer of the State. If his conscience forbid, he may resign the trust; but he to preserve, protect, and defend; and how are If his conscience forbid, he may resign the trust; but he has no right to retain the power of a public office, and subordinate that to the judgment of a mere individual member of the community or nation which has clothed him with executive power for the enforcement of its laws. As a public officer, no such plea can be properly entered in his behalf, for he is not only sworn to execute the laws, but he also possesses the right of resignation. If his conscience will not permit him to execute a given law, he may resign his trust, and leave to his successor the performance of a duty which his judgment, as an indi-vidual, will not surrender to his obligations as a public officer. A willingness to submit to the penalty sub-scribed for violation of a law may to some extent excuse officer. A willingness to submit to the penalty subscribed for violation of a law may to some extent excuse disobedience on the part of a private citizen, and at the same time avail nothing to the public officer. The latter may at any time, by resignation, become a private citizen, but the power cannot become a public officer in this country, except by the suffrages of his fellow-citizens. Such an acceptance removes him from the sphere of the right of private judgment to the plane of the public officer, and binds him to observe the law, his judgment to the contrary notwithstanding. The Constitution invests the President with Executive power, in order that he may take care that the laws be faithfully executed. Every abuse of this power, whether it be by an improper use of it, or by neglect or refusal to exercise it, is a breach of official duty. But it is not every breach of efficial duty that can be charged as a crime or misdemeanor against the delinquent officer. Whateyer doubt may have arisen in other cases of the criminal character of the official conduct involved in criminal character of the official conduct involved in them, the one which we are now considering presents no basis on which to rest a doubt. Deliberately, not to may de-United States, and has thereby committed a high misde exceeding ten thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not ex. ceeding five years, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the Court. [Act of March 2, 1867, Section 6.] All of the circumstances attendant upon this case show

flantly, the President has violated a penal statute of the meanor, which the law says shall be punished by a fine no; that the President's action was deliberate and willful. There is not a shade of excuse or palliation in the case as it is presented to us. Perversely he has rushed upon his own destruction. Obstinately he has forced upon us an issue in which we must join. We have not sought this issue, but have resorted to every legitimate means to avoid it. We have manifested no undue desire to exercise the impeaching power which is vested in this House exclusively, by the express terms of the Constitution. Guided by a sincere desire to pass this cup from our lips, determined not to drink it if excape were not cut off by the presence of a palpable duty, we at last find ourselves compelled to take its very dregs. Substantially, the President affirms that his cath of office may be qualified by the conclusions of his private judgment. He deflantly easts before the representatives of the people his gauntlet, and dechares that he will decide what laws are constitutional, and that such only as stant the test of his judgment will be represent, enforce or obey. This is his case. He has elected to have it on a penal statute. It is for us to traverse this case and put it to the country. Anything less than this would be a shameful abuse of high trust, and a criminal abandonment of daty. To my charge shall neither of these effenses be placed. Mr. Speaker: It has been urged in this debate that the President's sole object is to secure a judgment of the the case as it is presented to us. Perversely President's sole object is to secure a judgment of the courts as to the constitutionality of the "act regulating the tenure of certain civil officers." Such an intent will not justify the commission of a high crime or misdemeanor. Suppose that the courts should hold the act to be constitutional, would the fact that his intent was to have that question decided be a good plea to an indictment for a violation of its provisions? Whe is so insafe as to assert so proposterous a proposition ! Whoever acts

as to assert so preposterous a proposition? Whoever acts in the way and for the purpose suggested does it at his peril. The risk belongs to the President in this case, not to the law. He committed a high misdemeaner to secure a judgment of the Courts. Sir, we will gratify his desire by referring his case to the highest tribunal known to the Constitution of the Republic—the High Court of Impeachment. The public welfare, the repose of the nation, the interests of our institutions, the safety of the Republic itself, require that all persons, official or otherwise, shall be solemnly taught that the law of this land is no respecter of persons; that the high and low, rich and poor, the public officer and the private citizen, are each and all alike amenable to its imperial demands, subordinate to its supreme authority. The majesty of the law must be asserted, though it strike from his position the Chief Magistrate of the nation. We deplore the necessity, but we must obey the voice of the law. I speak not as a partisan, but as a custodian of a trust whose sacred character urges me to a strict observance of my duty. I will voice for the pending resolution, to the end that the law may be vindicated by the removal of an inworthy public servant from an official position which he has dishonered by his perverse disregard, of duty, and his contempt of the supreminey of the law. Mr. WOODBRIDGE. (Rep., Vt.) sustained the Impeachment resolution. He declared his belief that in no other servant from an official position which he has contempt of the supremacy of the law.

Mr. WOODBRIDGE (Rep., Vt.) sustained the Impeachment resolution. He declared his belief that in no other way than impeachment could the majesty of the law and the future safety of the Republic be minintained. Within the last ten days the President had committed three acts in direct and positive violation of law, and under such circumstances and surroundings as to convince him Cfr. W.) that they were committed with an evil intent. The first act was the formation of a new military department; the second, the removal of Mr. Stanton as Secretary of War and interim. It was a solemn duty that the House was called upon to perform. No man more than he regretted it. No personal friend of the President would have been better pleased than himself to see Mr. Johnson remain in the Executive chair until the end of his constitutional term of office. But the President had assumed a prerogative that can but be dangerous to the liberties of the people. The threats of the gentleman from New-York (Brooks) did not intimidate the House. The commercial centers might for a day be railled, and the National scurities abroad might be depressed; but a people ever jealous and watchful of their libertles would thank God that their representatives had courage enough to meet the energency. If tunnell and riot and blood-shed should follow, they would not be caused by the execution of the law. He would assure the gentleman from New-York (Brooks) that if such should be the result, ten

to meet the emergency. It tunnelt and riot and blood shed should follow, they would not be caused by the execution of the law. He would assure the gentleman from New-York (Brooks) that if such should be the result, ten thousand swords would leep from their scabbards, a million bayonets glisten in the sunshine, Brave heroes would fill up the ranks, the honor of the old flag would be maintained, peace and quiet be restored, and the nations of the carth would again learn that the Government of the United States is a government of law.

Mr. WOOD (Dem., N. Y.) addressed the House against the impeachment resolution. He said this proceeding is as unwarranted as it is unprecedented.

Mr. PRUYN (Dem., N. Y.) followed on the same side, arguing in support of the constitutional power of the President in the matter, which is the gracamen of the charge against him, and speaking of the great importance, as hearing on the subject of the debate in the first Congress, which Mr. Woodward had quoted. He insisted that no member should vote on the resolution without constitutions of the Tenury of office law in 1887, had the power of removal been exertised in any other way than by the President. The President had never consulted the Senate in reference to that watter, which is nearly than by the President. The President had never consulted the Senate in reference to that watter, whether in session or not. The power of removal vas gue and indivisible. Mr. Polland (Rep., Vt.) next spoke in support pf the

Mr. POLAND (Rep., Vt.) next spoke in support of the impeachment resolution. He had hoped that no cause for renewing the movement of impeachment would arise, and in that he had been disappointed. The President had openly and ostentatiously violated the law of the land, as if to invite impeachment. If his conduct were allowed to pass unrebuked, it would be claimed by himself and his Democratic friends as a triumph over law.

Mr. STOKES[(Rep., Tenn.) followed on the same side of

of the City of Chicago unanimously demand the impeach ment of Andrew Johnson. A mass meeting is called for to morrow evening to give expression to this feeling. L. B. Otis, Chairman.

Mr. HARDING (Rep., Ill.) said that his constituents had instructed him to unite his voice and vote with the representatives of the loyal millions, in demanding the impeachment of the criminal who occupied the Presidential chair.

Mr. SHANKS (Rep., Ind.) said that in this conjuncture the House should speak but one word, and strike but one blow,

and the blow should come first. Mr. ELDRIDGE (Dem., Wis.) addressed the House in Mr. ELDRIDGE (Dem., Wis.) addressed the House in opposition to the resolutions. He asked whether the gentemen on the other side believed or expected that it was possible for this Government of social and equal departments to exist, when not only warring with each other, but when the one had not only a spy and a common informer in the confidential councils of the other, but a known and determined enemy holding his position against his own pronounced convictions of constitutional right and duty. He believed that this was the part of a great organized plan to get rid of the Executive, and to invest Congress with all the powers of the Government. It was the execution of a great and determined purpose to subvert and overthrow the Constitution and to destroy all the constitutional departments of the Government. Is to subvert and overthrow the Constitution and to destroy all the constitutional departments of the Government. It was the carrying out of a purpose long ago formed by the most radical of the Republican party. In proof of this, he sent to the Clerk's desk and had read, notes of a conversation last Fall with a prominent member of the Republican Executive Committee of Maryland, in which the purpose was foreshedowed of removing Mr. Johnson.

Mr. CARY (Ind. Rep., Ohio) spoke in opposition to the

resolution. He declared that fair-minded men, not influenced by malignant party zeal, could not justify the attempt to force upon the President a Cabinet Minister who was his avowed enemy. He (Mr. Cary) desired that the Supreme Court should be invoked to decide the constitutionality of the Tenure-of-Office law, and if it should decide that the President is bound to retain a confidential adviser whom he never appointed and whom he did not want, the President must submit, or he (Mr. Cary) would unite in the effort to hurl him from his place.

Mr. HAIGHT (Dem., N. J.) protested against the impeachment proceedings.

Mr. NIBLACK (Dem., Ind.) also protested.

Mr. ELDRIDGE (Dem., Wis.) said, in allusion to Mr. Judd, that he (Mr. Eldridge) was not governed in his course by the action of any town meeting.

Mr. BROOMALL (Rep., Penn.) sustained the resolution. If he had only in view the good of his party he would be inclined to say to the President of the United States, "Go on piling up mignity on infquity until you bury yourenced by malignant party zeal, could not justify the at-

can do no wrong.

Mr. PHLE (Rep., Mo.) followed on the same side of the question, answering Mr. Brooks's threats and the legal points made by Mr. Beck, arguing that the President had, by violating the law, subjected himself to impeach-

ment.

Mr. VAN HORN (Rep., N. Y.) sustained the resolution, insisting that the act of the President in the Femoval of Mr. Stanton was a willful violation of the law. He added that the country could have no repose while Mr. Johnson was in office, and that there could be no legal reconstruction under his administration, unless it were accomplished in spite of him and over the obstacles which he was constantly presenting. He would vote for the resolution, believing that in doing so he would be performing his duty.

Mr. BUTLER (Rep., Mass.) next addressed the House in support of the resolution of impeachment, which he sustained in a long legal argument. He rejected with the utmost unspeakable loathing, scorn, and contempt the pretaided legal quibble that the President is impeach able for indictable crimes only as unsound law, fallacious in reasoning and dangerous in principle; and he con tinued, if we were certain of purity of intention and pa riotism of motive we might pass over, if we could not forgive, these violations of law now presented, but we mournfully remember the act by which the President was inducted into his high office; his change of purpose, which became so painfully evident in the Summer of 1865; the men fresh from the halls of treason and the fields of blood whom he took for his friends and counselors; his attempts to usurp the powers of Congress in reëstablishing the governments of the rebellious States; his open deflance of the laws in restoring the Southern railroads to their rebellious owners, although forfeited by the outraged laws of the country; his appointment to office of those who dared not add perjury and treason by taking the test oath prescribed by law; while he made public avowal, using his own chaste language, that he "would kick out of office every true man who should sustain the Congress of the United Statess." The brokerage in par dons, which went on with his knowledge, if not by his connivance, extending not only to political offenses but to folons and murderers, to counterfeiters and forgers of the lawful money of the nation, which other rulers hold to be petty treason and worse than murder; his public attacks upon Congress, and threats to overthrow t; the indiscriminate use of the veto power to a greater extent than that of all the other Presidents who have preceded him, combined with his obstinate opposition to preceded him, combined with his obstitute opposition to prevent the passage of wholesome laws, both open and covert; to every law passed by Congress lover his vetoes to reconstruct the Government, and bring back out the advice or consent of the Senate, and with violathe country to its former condition of peace and pros-perity, for the purpose of consorting and counseling with the tenure of certain civil officers. There are other oftraitors, and instigating the massacres and assassinations at Nashville and New-Orleans; his refusal to allow a ingle murderer to be punished in the Southern States; where Union men under his rule and because of his nonexecution of justice, have been slam by thousands; his attempt, by military orders, backed by the opinion of his legal advisers, to thwart the execution of the acts of Congress by the military commanders who were charged therewith; his taking advantage of the provisions of the very civil tenure act which he now declares unconstitutional to suspend the efficient officer whom he now seeks to remove, for no other reason than that he has opposed his nefarious designs; his compassing the removal of the faithful servant of the country, the gallant Sheridan; his attempt to draw into a conspiracy with himself the general officer of the armies of the United States so as to get possession of the military force with which to execute his purposes of subverting the Government, a corrupt undertaking in which he was so nearly successful that we have to disbelieve his own plighted veraelty, and that of a majority of his Cabinet, to doubt whether in fact he did not succeed; such and all point to the single conclusion that what we are now examining is but one act in the drama which, if performed to its proposed close, would be the overthrow of the Congress of the United States, the abrogation of its laws, and the restoration to power of the Rebel-lion, which the valor of our army and navy subdued. For a tithe of these of usurpation, lawlessness, and tyranny, our fathers dissolved their connection with King George; for less than this King James lost his throne, and King Charles lost his head, while we, the representatives of the people, only adjudge that there is probable cause shown why Andrew Johnson should be deprived of the office which he has descrated, and of the power which he has abused, and, if convicted by the Court to which we shall send him, be forever incapable of filling that office, the ambi-tion to be again nominated to which has been the movingspring of all these crimes.

Mr. BENTON (Rep., N. H.) followed on the same

Mr. BENTON (Rep., N. H.) followed on the same side.
Mr. BOUTWELL (Rep., Mass.) next addressed the House in support of the resolution. He declared that this was a more fortunate occasion for the consummation of this great public act than were the former occasions, when he had sustained the impeachment of the President with zeal. He believed that such demonstrations had already been made in the House and in the country as showed what the judgment of the House and of the country would be on the question. He charged that the President was suffix first of violating the that the President was guilty, first, of violating the Constitution and the oath of office by which he pledged himself to sustain the Constitution; and, secondly, that he was guilty of violating the Tenure-of-Office law in the removal of the Secretary of War without asking the advice and consent of the Senate, He held that he was guilty of the latter of the whether the law was or was not Constitutional. In reference to Mr. Cary's suggestion to refer the subject to the Supreme Court, he said that we have 54 Senators, and that the judgment of 36 of Shom must be in favor of the constitutionality of, the Tenure-of-Office law. The Senate was for this purpose the

Was not he the man who used his power as Chief Magis trate to delay the collection of the public revenue, and had restored to railroad companies in the South property which was in the hands of the Government, appropriating a portion of the money to his personal use ! Was not he the man who would be, in the public judgment, condemned as the greatest usurper of modern times! The plot, of which the removal of Mr. Stanton was the outgrowth, was this: The President desired to get control of the War Department in order, as in 1861, that the Ministers of War and the army materials might be used for the purpose of enabling him to succeed in his aspirations to the next Presidency of the United States. He knew that if he could corrupt the leaders of the army, if he could bend them to his will, he would have the Southern States in his control, and could send to the Democratic Convention on the 4th of July flext men who would support his claim for the Presidency on the aliegation, which he could well carry out, and which no other man could make good, that with the army and with his influence among the leaders of the South he could secure the electoral vote of those ten States by excluding the negroes from all participation in the election. If, perchance, this man could get sufficient votes in the North to elect him, when added to the votes of the ten Southern States, then he had determined, with the support of the army, to be inaugurated President at the hazard of a civil war. It was this day that the country escaped from those evils. Of all the army, but one man had been found to obey this will, and he old, impotent, and weak, the object of sympathy and compassion, rather than of hatred and revenge. This day, said Mr. Boutwell, in conclusion, the country is safe. Though there may be a momentary excitement, though pecuniary interest may for a brief moment suffer, as sometimes the sun sets behind the day clouds in the West, and the thunder alarms the timid, and the lightning frights the fearful, it rises next morning with celestial beauty, it will be if we now do our duty; remove the man from the office which he holds, redeem the Republic, and set an example to all posterity, which it will gladly imitate if unhappily like eircumstances shall again arise, and to posterity and history we may safely appeal.

Mr. KEBR (Dem., Ind.) next addressed the House in opposition to the resolution. He would not consider the question as a partisan one; it rose infinitely above that character. He and those with whom he acted had no knowledge of the President's intention to do what had led to this movement. They had, therefore, only to meet the great duties of the hour. Upon their connections he was uterly unable to discover any single ground for impeachment that rose above the mercst partisanship. The President had fone so under the Constitution, and in spite of a law of a most doubtful meaning cratic Convention on the 4th of July next men who would support his claim for the Presidency

mentary.

Mr. ELDRIDGE (Dem., Wis.) desired to remind the Speaker that he had overruled a like point of order, on the ground that the words applied not to particular members, but to a party.

Before Mr. Stevens commenced his speech, which he at 41 o'clock, Mr. Bingham asked that his time be extended from the nair nour, to which all speeches to-day were limited, to an hour, but a strong opposition was made on the Republican side of the House, the members wishing to have the question brought to a vote at 5 o'clock.

Mr. BINGHAM moved to suspend the rules to enable him to make the motion, but he received only 22 votes to

Mr. STEVENS, who had a scat at the Clerk's desk, commenced to read his speech, but after getting through the first sentence he asked, on account of the weakness of his voice, that his speech might be read by the Clerk. That privilege was granted, and the speech was read in clear, distinct, and well emphasized tones by Mr. Mc

SPEECH BY THE HON. TRADDEUS STEVENS. Mr. STEVENS (Rep., Penn.) closed the debate. He said: I agree with those gentlemen who have gone before me, that this is a grave subject, and should be gravely treated. It is important to the high official who is the subject of these charges, and it is important to a nation of forty millions of people now free, and rapidly increasing to hundreds of millions. The official character of the Chief Executive of this grand nation being thus involved, the charge, if falsely made, is a cruel wrong. If, on the other hand, the misdemeaners and usurpations charged against him are true, he is guilty of as atroclous attempts to usurp the liberty and destroy the happiness of this nation, as were ever perpetrated by the most detestable tyrant who ever opposed his fellow men. Let us, therefore, discuss these questions in no partisan spirit, but with legal accuracy and impartial justice. The people desire no victim and they will endure no usurper. The charges, so far as I shall discuss them, are few and distinct. Andrew Johnson is charged with attempting to usurp the powers of other branches of the Government: with attempting to obstruct and resist the execution of the law with mispriston of bribery, and in the open violation of laws, which declare his acts misdemeanor, and subject him to fine and imprisonment, and with removing from office the Secretary of War during the session of the Senate, withfenses charged in the papers referred to the committee,

which I may consider by themselves. In order to sustain impeachment under our Constitution, I do dot hold that it is necessary to prove that a crime is an indictable of fense. I agree with the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania on the other side of the House, who holds this to be a purely political proceeding. It is intended for a remedy for malfensance in office, and to prevent the continuance thereof. Beyond that it is not intended as a personal punishment for past offenses, or for future example. Impeachment under our Constitution is very different from impeachment under the English law. The framers of our Constitution did not rely for safety upon the avenging dagger of a Brutus, but provided peaceful remedies which should prevent that necessity. England had two systems of jurisprudence; one for trial and punishment of common offenders, and one for the trial of men in higher stations, whom it was found difficult to convict before the ordinary tribunals. This latter proceeding was by impeachment, or by "bills of attainder," generally practiced to punish malefactors. But the system soon degenerated into political and personal persecution, and men were tried, condemned, and executed by this Court from malignant motives. Such was the condition of the English laws when our Constitution was framed, and the Convention determined to provide against the abuse of that high power, so that revenge and punishment (should not be inflicted upon political or personal enemies. Hence the whole punishment was made to consist in removal from office, and bills of attainder were wholly prohibited. We are to treat this question as wholly political, in which, if an officer of the Government abuse his trust or attempt to pervert it to improper purposes, whatever be his mo tive, he becomes subject to impeachment and remov-al from office. The offense being indictable does not prevent impeachment, but is not necessary to sustain it. (See Story's Commentaries on the Constitution, Madison and others). Such is the opinion of our elementary writers. Nor can any case of impeachment tried in this country be found where any attempt was made to prove the offense criminal and indictable. What, then, are the official misde meanors of Andrew Johnson disclosed by the evidence i On the 2d day of March, 1867, Congress passed an Act entitled "An act regulating the tenure of certain Civil Offices." Among other provisions it enacted that no officer who had been appointed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate should be removed from office

without the consent of the Senate, and that if during va cation a suspension should be made for cause, such cause should be reported to the Senate within twenty days after their next meeting. If the Senate should deem the reason of the suspension sufficient, then the officer should be -moved and another appointed in his stead. But if the Senate should refuse to concur with the President and declare the reasons insufficient then the officer suspended should forthwith resume the functions of his office, and the powers of the person performing its duties should cease. It is especially provided that the Secretary of War shall hold his office during the

cussed, has arisen between them, and the gentlemen seem to consider that that question is one of importance to the public. In this they are mistaken. Which is the man of truth and which is the man of false hood is of no more public importance than if the dispute had occurred between two obscure individuals. If Andrew Johnson tells the truth, then he is guilty of a high official misdemeanor, for hel shows his attempt to prevent the execution of the laws. If the General Comanding tells the truth, then the President is guilty of a high misdemeanor, for Gen. Grant declares the same thing of the President, denying only his own complicity. No argument can make this point plainer than the statement of the culprit. If he and the General told the truth, then he committed willful perjury by refusing to take care that the laws should be duly executed. To show the animus and guilty knowledge with which this law was violated, we have only to turn to the proceedings of the Senate, warning him of his illegal and void conduct and then to consider that he has since persevered in attempting to enforce hispillegal acts. Indeed, to show his utter disregard of the laws of his country, we have only to turn to his last annual message in which he proclaimed to the public that the laws of Congress were unconstitutional, and not binding on the people. Who, after that, can say that such a man is fit to occupy the Executive Chair, whose duty it is to vindicate obedience to and see that those very laws are faithfully obeyed? Then, the great beauty of the remedial and preventive process is clearly demonstrated. He is dull and blind who cannot see its necessity, and the beneficial re sults and purposes of the trial by impeachment. By the sixth section of the act alluded to, it is provided that all removals, appointments, or employments, made or exercised contrary to the provisions of this act, or the making. sealing, countersigning, or issuing of any commission or letter of authority for or in respect to any such appointment or employment, shall be deemed, and are hereby declared to be high misdemeanors, and upon trial and conviction thereof the person offending shall be punished by a fine not exceeding \$10,000, or by imprisonment not exceeding five years. or both, said punishment in the discretion of the Court. Now, in deflance of this law, Andrew Johnson, on the

21st day of February, 1868, issued his commissionary letter of authority to Lorenzo Thomas, appointing Secretary of War ad interim, and commanding him to take possession of the Department of War, and to eject the incumbent E. M. Stanton, then in lawful possession of said office. Here, if this act stood alone, would be an indeniable official misdemeanor, not only misdemeanor per se, but declared to be so by the act itself, and the offender made indictable and punishable in a criminal pro ceeding. If Andrew Johnson escapes with bare removal from office, if he be not fined and incarcerated in the Penitentiary afterward, under criminal proceedings, he may thank the weakness or elemency of Congress, and not his own innocence. We shall propose to prove on the trial that Andrew Johnson Ewas guilty of misprision of bribery, by offering to Gen. Grant, if he would unite with him in his lawless violence, o assume in his stead the penalties and to endure the imprisonment prescribed by the laws. Bribery is one of the offenses specifically enumerated for which the President may be impeached and removed from office. By the Constitution, Article 2, Section 2, the President has power to nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint all officers of the United States, whose appointments are not therein otherwise for, and which shall be established provided law, and to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session. Nowhere, either in the Constitution, or by statute, has the President power to create a vacancy during the session of the Senate, and fill it with out the advice and consent of the Senate; and yet, on the 21st day of February, 1868, while the Senate was in session, he gave notice to the head of the War Department that he had been removed from office, and that his successor, ad interim, had been appointed. Here is a plain recorded violation of the Constitution, and laws, which, if it stood alone, would make every honest and intelligent man give his vote for impeach

ment. The President had persevered in his lawless course through a long series of uninstifiable acts. When the so called Confederate States of America were conquered, and had lain down their arms, and surrendered their ter ritory to the victorious Union, the government and final disposition of the conquered country belonged to Con gress alone, according to every principle of the law of nations. Neither the Executive nor the Judiciary had any right to interfere with it, except so far as was necessary to control it military rule, until the sovereign power of the nation had provided its civil administration. No power but Congress had any right to say whether ever, or when they should be admitted to the Union as States and entitled to the privileges of the Constitution of the United States, and yet Andrew Johnson, with unblushing hardlhood, undertook to rule them by his own power alone, to lead them into full communion with the Union, direct them what governments to enact, and what constitutions to adopt, and to send Representatives to Congress according to his instructions. When admonished by express act of Congress, more than once repeated, he disregarded warning and continued his lawless assumption. He is since known to have obstructed the reëstablishment of those Governments by the authority of Congress and Aus advised the inhabitants to resist the legislation of Congress. In my judgment his conduct with regard to that transaction was a high-handed usurpation of power which long ago ought to have brought him to impeachment and trial and to have removed him from his position of great mischief. He has been lucky in thus far escaping through false logic and false law, but his then acts, which will on the trial be shown to be atroclous are open evidence of his wicked determination to subsert the laws of his country I trust that when we come to vote upon this question we shall remember that, although it is the duty of the President to see that the laws be executed, the sovereign powe of the nation rests on Congress, who have been placed around the Executive as muniments to defend his rights and as watchmen, to enforce his obedience to the laws and the Constitution. His oath is to obey the Constitution, and our duty is to compel him to do it-all a tremendous obligation, heavier than was ever assumed by mortal rulers. We are to protect or to destroy the liberty and happiness of a mighty people, and to take care that they progress in civilization and defend themselves against every kind of tyranny. As we deal with the first great political malefactor, so will be the result of our efforts to perpetuate the happiness and good government of the human race. The God of our fathers, who inspired them with the thought of universal freedom, will hold us responsible for the noble in-stitutions which they projected, and expected us to carry out. This is not to be the temperary (triumph of a political party, but is to endure in its consequence until this

people, or shall be a nest of shrinking, cowardly slaves.

The reading of the speech was concluded at two minutes before 5 o'clock. The House then proceeded, amid tremendous but suppressed excitement, to vote on the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors.

During the vote, excuses were made for the absence of Messrs. Robinson (Dem., N. Y.), Benjamin (Rep., Mo.), Washburne (Rep., Ill.), Williams (Rep., Ind.), Van Horn (Rep., Mo.), Trimble (Rep., Tenn.), Pomeroy (Rep., N. Y.), Donnelly (Rep., Minn.), Koontz (Rep., Fa.), Maynard (Rep., Ten.), and Shellabarger (Rep., Ohio).

The SPEAKER could not consent that his constituents.

whole continent shall be filled with a free, untrammeled

people, or shall be a nest of shrinking, cowardly slaves.

The SPEAKER could not consent that his constituents hould be silent on so grave an occasion, and, therefore, as a member of the House, he voted Yea.

		TRAS.	E.H. STREET
Allison,	Dodge,	Lincoln,	Schenek,
Ames,	Priggs.	Lean,	Scoueld,
Anderson,	Echley,	Logan,	Selve,
Arnell.	Eggiesion,	Loughridge,	Shanks.
Ashley (Nev.).	Eliot,	Lynch,	Smith,
Ashley (Ohio),	Farneworth,	Mallery.	Spalding,
Balley,	Ferrie,	Marvin,	Biarkweniber,
Baker.	Ferry,	McCarthy,	Stevens (N. 11
Baldwin,	Fields,	McClurg,	Stevens (Pa.),
Banks,	Graveir,	Mercur,	Stokes,
Beaman,	Griswold,	Miller,	Taffe,
Beatty,	Halsey, &	Moore,	Taylor.
Benton,	Harding.	Moorhead,	Trowbridge,
Hingham,	Highy,	Morrill,	Twitchelt,
Blaine,	Hill,	Mullius,	Upson,
Blair.	Hooper,	Myers,	Van Arrusin,
Boutwell,	Hopkins,	Newcomb,	Van Horn (N.
Bromwell,	Hubbard (lows), Nana,	Van Wyck,
Broomall,	Hubbard (W. V	Orth.	Ward,
Buckland,	Hulbard,	O'Nelll,	Washburn (W
Butler,	Hunter.	Paine.	Washburne (I
Cake,	Ingersoll,	Perbam,	Washburn (M
Churchill.	Jenekes,	Peters.	Welker,
Churchill, Clarke (Kan.),	Judd.	Pike,	Williams (Pa.
Clark (Ohio),	Julian.	Pile,	Wilson (Iowa)
Cobb,	Kelley,	Plants.	Wilson (Ohio
Coburn,	Kelsey,	Poland,	Wilson (Penn
Cook,	Ketcham,	Polainy,	Windom,
Cornell,	Kitchen,	Price,	Wasdbridge,
Covede,	Laffin.	Rann,	The Speaker-
Cullum,	Lawrence (Pa.)		
Daves.	Lawrence (Ohio		
		HATE.	
Adams.	Fox,	Kerr.	Randall.
Archer,	Getz	Knott,	Rose,
Artell,	Gieisbrenner,	Marshall.	Sitgreaves,
	Goliaday,	McCormick.	Stewart,
Barnes,	Grover,	MeCullough,	Stone.
Barnum, Beck,	Haight,	Morgan,	Taber.
	Hoheno,	Morrissey,	Trumble (Ky.)
Boyer, Brooks,	Hotehkiss.	Mungen.	VangAnken,
	linbhard (Conn.		Van Trump,
Burt, Cary (Ind.),	Hamphrey,	Nicholson,	Wood.
Chanler,	Johnson,	Phelps.	Woodward-4
Eldridge,	Jones,	Prayn,	
morninge,		OF THE VOTE	
Water 5 - 1	THOSE WHO VOTE	John Lynch Jon	w. A. Povens F.

Moine, 5.—James G. Blaine, John Lydeb, John A. Peters, Perd Rick A. Pikr, Sylden Perdam. New Hompshipe, 2.—Aaron F. Stovens, Jacob Benton. Permont, 2.—Lune P. Poland, Fredbrick E. Woodbridge,

Washington C. Shith.

Massichuselle, S.—Oares Arrs. John D. Baldwin, Nathaniel P.

Banks, George S. Boutwell. Benj. P. Bulet, Thomas D. Elloy,

Sancel Hoopen, Ghery Twitchell, Wm. B. Washeten.

Rhod Island, I.—Thomas A. Jeneke.

Connection, Le-Henry H. Stanks Pathers.

New York, 12—Alex H. Ballet, John C. Churchill, Thomas Cop.

Belle, Orange Perrie, William C. Pieles, John A. Griffsche, Calvin T. Hulburd, William H. Kebey, John H. Ketcham, Address H. Lafelis, William B. Lincold, James M. Marvin, Dernie McCarthy, Wh. H. Robentson, Levis Solyes, Harry Van Dernie Modarty, Dernie Mort, Ceras, B. Van Witch, Hamilton Ward.

New-Jetrey, 2.—Gronge A. Halder, John Hill, Willem Mort, Pennsylvania, 16.—John M. Broomall, Heart L. Cales, John Ce. vode, William D. Kelley, Gronge V. Lawrence, Ultare Morter, Gronger P. Miller, James K. Moorentad, Daviel J. Morbilla, Vena, Cales N. Tatlor, Thomas Williams, Stephes F. Wilson.

West Virginic, 3.—Charley D. Hubbarn, Daniel Folsley, Betree:

Oho, 18.—James M. Ashley, A. H. Balley, James M. Betree.

Oho, 18.—James M. Ashley, A. H. Balley, James Recorded. M. Kitchen.*

Oho, H.—James M. Ashley, A. H. Bailey, John Beatty, John A. Binodam, Ralpin P. Buckland, Reader W. Clark, Ephraim R. Echley, Bennam, Ralpin P. Buckland, Reader W. Clark, Ephraim R. Echley, Bennam, Ralpin P. Buckland, Reader W. Clark, Ephraim R. Echley, Bennam, E. Schenek, Rufts P. Spalding, Marjin W. Bland, John R. Echley, Bennam, C. Schenek, Rufts C. Huber, Geo. M. Julian, Goodlore S. Orth, John P. C. Bharta, Morfou C. Huber, Geo. W. Julian, Goodlore S. Orth, John P. C. Bharta, Morfou C. Huber, Geo. Michigan, G.—Fernam. C. Brand, Admin Blair, John F. Driscos, Michigan, G.—Fernam, C. Barting, Leon C. Hoodhom, J. L. Sonn, Baken, H. P. H. Brownerd, Burron G. Coor, Sheldy M. Cullom, Jule, F. Farnaworth, Abner C. Harding, Menn C. Hoghnur, R. B. Washburne, Michigan, C. C. Washfunn, M. Benjan, Halbert E. Pales, Michigan, C. C. Washfunn, M. Bodon, Ashara, Alora, & William Windom.*

Jour, & William B. Allien, S. Granyvilla M. Dodon, Ashara Minnesolia, I--William Windom^{*}, Coura, G-William M. Dodon. Arbara. W. Hubbarn, William Loughridge, Hiram Price, Jares F. Wilson. Missouri, G-George W. Anderson, John J. Gravely, Bruj. F. Loss, Joseph W. McClury, C. A. Newcomb, William A. Pile. Transser, 4—Samuel M. Arnell, James Mullins, David A. Nene, William S. Kobas. Transser, 4—Sannel M. Arnell, James M. Isan B. Stokes.
Galifornia, 1—William Highy.
Oregon, 1—Rufus Mallory.
Kanssa, 1—Sudary Clarke.
Nevoda, 1—Danos R. Assulky.
Nevoda, John Taffe. [Total voting in the affirmative 136-all Republicane, Those in sms

apitals voted in the negative on the former impeachment resolution De-cember 7th, 1867—those marked with a * were attent or did not yet at that time.]

D. Hubbard,
Nea-York, 10.—Demas Barnes, James Brooks, John W. Chanler,
John Fox, J. M. Humphrey, John Morrissey, John V. L. Praya
Thomas E. Stewart, Nephen Taber, Fernando Wood.
New Jersey, 2.—Charles Halpht, Chorles Sitgreaves.
Pennsylvania, 6.—Benj. M. Boyer, J. Lucrenco Geta, A. J. Olean
brenner, Samuel J. Randall, D. M. Van Auken, G. W. Woodward.
Delaware, 1.—John A. Nicholson.
Maryland, 4.—Stevenson Archer, Charles E. Phelps, Hiram ReCullouth, Frederic E. Stone.
Ohio, 4.—George W. Morgan, Phil. Van Trump, William Mungen
Samuel F. Caty. Samel P. Carly, R. Morpan, Phil. Fan Princep, William Mungo Samel P. Carly, R. Holman, Wm. E. Noback, Michael C. Kerr, Indiana, 2.—Wm. S. Holman, Wm. E. Noback, Michael C. Kerr, Kenthody, 7.—George M. Adams, Jaz R. Bek, Jacob S. Hollades, dat P. Grover, Thomas L. Jones, J. Proctor Knott, Laurence M.

Illinois, 3-Albert G. Burr, Samuel S. Marshall, Lewis W. Ross. Missouri, 1.—James B. McCormick. * Wisconsin, 1.—Charles A. Eldridge. California, 2.—Samuel B. Aztell, James A. Johnson.

[Total voting in the negative 47-all Democrab, except Samuel F. Cary of Ohio, Ind. Rep. Those marked wish * were absent, or did not

ote on the former resolution.] The announcement of the result elicited no monifesta tion, but the immense audience which had filled the gal. leries and corridors all the day gradually dispersed, until it was reduced to less than one-fourth its original unm

Mr. STEVENS moved to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was agreed to, and also moved to lay the motion to reconsider on the table. The latter motion was agreed to, this being the parliamentary mode of making nd wall

a decision final. THADDEUS STEVENS then moved the following reso intions:

Intions:

Resolved, That a Committee of two be appointed to go to the Senate, and at the bar thereof, in the name of the House of Representatives, and of all of the people of the United States, to impeach Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, of high crimes and misdemeanors is office, and acquaint the Senate that the House of Representatives will, in due time, exhibit particular articles of impeachment against him, and make good the same, and that the Committee do demand that the Senate take order for the appearance of said Andrew Johnson to answer said impeachment. said impeachment.

Resolved, That a Committee of seven be appointed to

prepare and report articles of impeachment against Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, with power to send for persons, papers, and records, and to take testimony under oath. Democratic members attempted to resort to fillibuster

ing, but were cut off after an meffectual effort by a mo tion to suspend the rules so as to bring the House imme diately to a vote on the resolution. The rules were suspended and the resolutions were adopted-Yeas, 124 Nays, 42. The SPEAKER then announced the Committee

as follows:
Committee of two to announce to the Senate the action of the House—Messrs. Stevens of Pennsylvania and Blugham of Ohio; Committee of seven to prepare articles of impeachment—Messrs. Boutwell of Massachusetts, Stevens of Pennsylvania, Blugham of Ohio, Wilson of Iowa, Logan of Illinois, Julian of Indiana, and Ward of New-York.

The House then, at 5:20 p. m., adjourned.

It is reported that the Hon. Mr. Howe of

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J. Q. DUDLEY, at Westfield.

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